1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

438 [491] Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[241] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699–706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343–44; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 29–32 and 138–68.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ŋillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 153. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.